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ROUND TABLE

WHAT IS SOVEREIGNTY?

A Radio Discussion by RICHARD P. MCKEON
and CHARLES E. MERRIAM

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Around the Round Table . . . .

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CHARLES E. MERRIAM, distinguished service professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago, since 1933 has served as a member and vice-chairman of the National Resources Planning Board. Professor Merriam, who has been a member of the political science department of the University of Chicago since 1900, was a member of President Hoover's Commission on Recent Social Trends and is now a member of the President's Committee on Administrative Management. Professor Merriam has been active in Chicago politics and served three terms as alderman in the City Council and in 1911 was narrowly defeated for mayor of Chicago. Professor Merriam is a native of Iowa and studied at Lenox College and the State University of Iowa. He received his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University and has studied and traveled widely abroad. He is the author of many books, among which are: *A History of American Political Theories* (1903); *Primary Elections* (1908); *American Political Ideas, 1865–1917* (1921); *The American Party System* (1922); *New Aspects of Politics* (1925); *Four American Party Leaders* (1926); *Political Power* (1934); *Role of Politics in Social Change* (1936); *The New Democracy and the New Despotism* (1939); *Prologue to Politics* (1939); *What Is Democracy?* (1941); and *On the Agenda of Democracy* (1941).

WHAT IS SOVEREIGNTY?

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MR. MCKEON: The word "sovereignty" has been appearing in the newspapers with great frequency during the past few weeks. I would be inclined to think that during the next year it will probably be one of the important words in our practical discussions. Therefore, we have set up a rather unusual ROUND TABLE this morning in order to take into account the various implications of the problem of sovereignty.

MR. MERRIAM: Today we have two instead of three participants on the ROUND TABLE. Then, we have an interlocutor who will read, from time to time, the main questions which will give us a directive.

MR. MCKEON: I think that that will give us certain advantages. Since this is a technical question, we will be able to organize our problems as we proceed and keep down to earth by means of the interruptions that we get.

MR. MERRIAM: I understand that you are not trying to convince me of anything.

MR. MCKEON: No, I am not trying to convince you, but I am trying to bring up three very simple questions, even though we may get into technical details.

We ought to ask, first, "Why are we discussing sovereignty now?"; second, "What does it mean?"; and, third, "What practical

consequences will it have?" If we can get those questions decided, the issues may be clear—the words, at least, will be clear.

MR. MERRIAM: You set me at ease.

MR. MCKEON: I think that we ought, therefore, without further ado, to begin with the first question.

ANNOUNCER: *Should sovereignty be discussed at all? For example, yesterday, Sumner Welles, former Undersecretary of State, described as harmful theoretical discussions of the possible loss of United States sovereignty. Such a discussion can only benefit those, said Mr. Welles, who are opposed to our taking part in any form of international cooperation and who desire, by confusing the real issues, to engender public doubt and prejudice.*[1]

MR. MERRIAM: The subject, however, is under very active discussion. I read in the Mackinac Declaration of September 8 the following: "Responsible participation by the United States in postwar cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent

[1] In arguing the need for an international four-power pact (Russia, China, Great Britain, and the United States), former Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles described the theoretical discussions of the possible loss of some of the sovereignty of the United States through such an agreement as harmful. He said that "such a discussion can only benefit those who are opposed to our taking part in any form of international cooperation and who desire, by confusing the real issues, to engender public doubt and prejudice. The imposition on our sovereignty cannot be determined until the world organization takes form." He, therefore, urged that each problem be studied individually and each as it applies in its special case.

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military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world."[2]

MR. MCKEON: That same word "sovereignty" appears also in the resolution of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, which was approved on October 13 of this year. The resolution reads in part: "That the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority, with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world."[3]

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[2] The declaration adopted by the Republican Post-war Advisory Council at Mackinac Island on September 8, 1943, said, in part:

"We consider it to be our duty at the beginning of our work as an advisory council of the Republican party to declare our approval of the following:

"1. Prosecution of the war by a united nation to conclusive victory over all our enemies, including

"(*a*) Disarmament and disorganization of the armed forces of the Axis.

"(*b*) Disqualification of the Axis to construct facilities for the manufacture of the implements of war.

"(*c*) Permanent maintenance of trained and well-equipped armed forces at home.

"2. Responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world. . . . ."

[3] A Senate foreign relations subcommittee, on October 13, 1943, released a general declaration of post-war American foreign policy. This resolution will be submitted to the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the near future. The declaration will not require House action and, therefore, will not be an expression of Congress as a whole. It reads:

"*Resolved*, by the Senate of the United States;

"That the war against all our enemies be waged until complete victory is achieved.

"That the United States cooperate with its comrades-in-arms in securing a just and honorable peace;

"That the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world."

MR. MERRIAM: I notice, in what is known as the Fulbright Resolution, a reference to the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world. It also favors participation by the United States therein through its constitutional processes. But it does not mention the word "sovereignty."[4]

MR. MCKEON: One of the important points to be made is that the word "sovereignty" may appear or disappear but that there are other words that will take its place—like "constitutional processes."

The Atlantic Charter had another expression, somewhat similar. In the fourth clause it says that the nations of the world will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states of the right to trade, to free access to raw materials, and so forth. "Due respect for their existing obligations" would seem to be directed toward the same problem.[5]

MR. MERRIAM: They are all aimed at the same target, and there is bound to be discussion of the aspects of sovereignty. From my point of view, there should be.

MR. MCKEON: Our job, then, is to raise the question of what the

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[4] The Fulbright Resolution reads: "*Resolved*, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and to maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein, through its Constitutional processes." For further discussion see Herbert Blumer, Avery Craven, and Tracy Strevey, *Congress and Foreign Policy*, a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 289, broadcast October 3, 1943.

[5] The Atlantic Charter says in part: "The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government, in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

problem is that is involved in sovereignty. In other words, we are talking about sovereignty; we are talking about it in a way which indicates that the occurrence of the word is a problem and that we ought to examine what that occurrence means.

MR. MERRIAM: How would you go about that?

MR. MCKEON: We have raised the question of why this discussion. Now, in order to answer your question, we ought to ask the second question.

ANNOUNCER: *What does sovereignty really mean? Does the word "sovereignty" have a fixed, universal meaning which gives it a place in practical political affairs?*

MR. MCKEON: To answer that question we are involved in the question of definitions, and it is a rather ticklish question. You have heard about semantics—it is the branch of philosophy which worries about words.

MR. MERRIAM: I would be glad to have a definition of that.

MR. MCKEON: I would not call that a definition. But semantics does worry about definitions, and there is a tendency to think that we can define all things in the same way in which one would point to a physical object or a chemical compound. We cannot settle that this way.

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

"Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. . . . ."

So, I would begin by saying that if that is what is meant by a definition of sovereignty, we cannot define sovereignty that way. We cannot define constitutional liberty or justice that way. So we are not looking for that kind of definition.

But there are other possibilities. We might define it as it functions in a practical way. Do you think it has a definition in that sense?

MR. MERRIAM: It has, first of all, behind it a series of understandings and a basis in historical origin. It is necessary to interpret any definition you may make of it.

MR. MCKEON: It has had a long history. Let us be clear on this, though. I approach this question as a philosopher, but I understand that there have been political scientists who have questioned whether there is any such word—that is, whether it could be torn out of the dictionaries and lexicons of the world.

MR. MERRIAM: There have been, among my colleagues, those who would wish to make an end of the word "sovereignty." I recall, years ago, in the University of Berlin, listening to Dr. Preuss, one of my professors there, who tore the word "sovereignty" out of the lexicon every morning.

MR. MCKEON: What did he do with it?

MR. MERRIAM: He said that sovereignty was hostile to public law, to internal public law of nations, and that it was hostile to international law and, therefore, should be thrown in the waste-basket.

MR. MCKEON: What I would like to know is if there is any substitute.

MR. MERRIAM: He substituted the word *Herrschaft.*

MR. MCKEON: Can you do that in English?

MR. MERRIAM: Not very well. He thought that he was not making very much progress with *Herrschaft*—with "lordship," "mastership," which is, after all, not very much different from "sovereignty."

MR. MCKEON: There are also English political scientists who have gotten rid of "sovereignty" with other words.

MR. MERRIAM: Notably, G. D. H. Cole, who, instead of an organization of sovereignty, proposed to set up a "supreme court—democratic supreme court of functional equity." He thought that that was not very far ahead of the game, either.

MR. MCKEON: In the 1920's there were two writers in England and America who had substitutes for sovereignty. Professor Laski, who was then a professor at Harvard and is a prominent member of the Labour party in England, remarked that the word "sovereignty" is a word which has fallen from its high estate, that it no longer has a place in political theory, and that there is a danger that we mistake what is necessary in institutions with what we have become accustomed to.

At the other extreme, Professor Dickinson, who is a former professor of public law at Princeton University, and now the general counselor of the Pennsylvania Railroad, said that the word "sovereignty" is not something inherent in the nature of things; that it is not something that you can point to; but that it is something which is necessary, as he puts it, if we are to maintain a legal regime in the world.

It would seem, then, that the word "sovereignty" is a word you could get rid of; but, if you want to talk about the legal regime, the organization of law in the world, you need it.

I would like, therefore, to go back into history. When I was a

student, many years ago, we studied your dissertation on the history of sovereignty.

MR. MERRIAM: Let us hasten over that, too. I think that what you are going to ask me is when, historically, the discussion of sovereignty really begins.

MR. MCKEON: All right.

MR. MERRIAM: We trace it back, a long way, to the end of the sixteenth century and to the nation of France. Sovereignty began when nations began. A famous French publicist named Bodin developed a doctrine of sovereignty for a very specific purpose. He was developing an idea of sovereignty that would strengthen the royal power in France, and he laid down the proposition that, in any well-organized state, there must be a sovereign power—a sovereign power which is unrestrained by law.

MR. MCKEON: The question that I want to get in at this point is one about the developing nationalist states at that time. How did the question come up? This question of sovereignty would seem to fit in with the development of nations.

MR. MERRIAM: The discussion came up as a part of the struggle between the rising nation and the old feudal system. Burgundy and Brittany and Normandy and a dozen other independent states were contesting with the central government, and the sovereign built up, through Bodin, a doctrine of sovereignty.

MR. MCKEON: The sovereign, then, was a supreme power in the state and, as you suggested, had some restrictions on him. Of what variety were those restrictions?

MR. MERRIAM: The kind that Bodin suggested were not legal

restrictions but were restrictions by the laws of nature—the law of God and the custom of the realm.

MR. MCKEON: To skip across the Channel, the same problem was coming up in England. There were two great philosophers in England who talked about sovereignty. They are recognized in the history of thought. John Locke, in the seventeenth century, talked about sovereignty, and so did Thomas Hobbes. According to Hobbes, sovereignty was absolute power. The only limitation was the limitation with respect to man's life.[6]

MR. MERRIAM: And without Bodin's restrictions.

MR. MCKEON: Without Bodin's restrictions. Locke introduced a further limitation. Since the state was established to protect property rights, the sovereign, therefore, was restricted from impinging upon the property rights of the citizens. These would all be instances of sovereignty.

MR. MERRIAM: With the national state having been built up and with the sovereigns having taken sovereignty away with them, we now come to the revolutionary period and to the democratic era. From that time on, it seems to me, the discussion of sovereignty turned largely on the question of "Where is sovereignty?" rather than "What is sovereignty?"

MR. MCKEON: The internal organization of the state would be the important question of sovereignty in this period?

MR. MERRIAM: The ways and means of setting up democratic organization, embodying sovereignty, yet with the proper system of rules, regulations, and constitutional guarantees to protect the liberty of the community and of the citizens, became the important question.

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[6] See John Locke's *Treatise on Government* and Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*.

Mr. McKeon: This history should throw light upon what we are talking about, and, therefore, I would like to bring it to bear upon our question. We have been talking about sovereignty in the internal organization of the state. Now, I take it that our problem today is a different one.

Mr. Merriam: Quite different, yes.

Mr. McKeon: How would you state that difference?

Mr. Merriam: Whereas in the beginning sovereignty came up as a part of a struggle between the nation and the feudal principalities, the problem of sovereignty now is one of relations among nations. There are fifty-odd sovereign powers in the world, and the question now being raised is how these fifty-odd sovereigns can work together most effectively.

Mr. McKeon: We have one question, then—that is, the sovereignty within the state—which has to do with the internal organization of the state, which came, as you pointed out, to its solution in the revolutionary period. The people, I take it, are sovereign in that sense.

The second question is the sovereignty of the independent nations. That seems to be the question that we are encountering in the newspapers today. Would you agree?

Mr. Merriam: That is the problem that we have before us today. How are nations going to get along together?

Mr. McKeon: The one is a question of where the sovereignty within the nation is; and the second is the question of what the sovereignty in the nations related to other nations is.

Mr. Merriam: They are two sides of the same question—whether you look in or look out.

MR. MCKEON: All right, then. We have talked about the question of what sovereignty is. Let us go on to our third question.

ANNOUNCER: *What practical consequences are involved in the public questions in which the word "sovereignty" is now being used? For example, if the United States joins with other nations to repress aggression, would the United States lose any of its sovereignty?*

MR. MERRIAM: Where is sovereignty in the United States?

MR. MCKEON: I should imagine that that would be an important problem. If we are going to lose sovereignty, it might be a good idea to find it before we lose it. It is a question, however, that I would like to turn back on you. Where is the sovereignty in the United States?

MR. MERRIAM: Sovereignty is in the people of the United States.

MR. MCKEON: That is one of the answers, but, as I recall my history—again from way back—Patrick Henry, when the Virginia Convention met, raised very serious objections to the Preamble to the Constitution. "We, the people of the United States" seemed to him a dangerous clause. He wanted "We, the people of Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, ... ," etc. Who are the people who are sovereign?

MR. MERRIAM: A celebrated German historian, who was once at the University of Chicago, von Holtz, declared on one occasion that the United States went to war over a Preamble, "We, the people of the United States."

Who are the people of the United States? Are they the people of the several states, or are they the states collectively, or are they the people of the entire nation without regard to state lines?

MR. MCKEON: We have our two old problems, then, in Ameri-

can history. We have the sovereignty of the people, and we have the sovereignty of the sovereign states—the second problem is a problem of the relation of the individual states to the federated states.

We now are going on to a third problem—the problem of the United States and other sovereign nations. That raises a question that I would like some light on. What are the relations that sovereign nations can enter into?

MR. MERRIAM: Sovereign nations may enter into a wide variety of relations, and many classifications are made. A rough and quick classification which I use is a threefold one—that is, the relation of alliance; the relation in the form of the federal state; and, third, the superstate. One might make thirty or forty different classifications.

MR. MCKEON: Those three strike me as good working classifications. We get into too much detail with more than three. Could you give me the main outlines of the alliance? What do we agree to in an alliance? What do we give up?

MR. MERRIAM: I would rather work back the other way. I would say that in the superstate there is one unified—only one—sovereignty in the world. That does not seem to me to be under serious discussion now, or anywhere in our time. The second of these, in reverse, the federal state, is a state of the general character of the United States. It is a combination of special states, with our original idea that the states are sovereign in their sphere and that federal government is sovereign in its sphere but that the real sovereignty lies in the people back of both of them.

MR. MCKEON: There was a notion, too, that the states mediated, in a sense, between the citizens of the states and the nation. Is that correct?

Mr. Merriam: Under our federal system the federal government has certain direct powers over citizens. In the old Articles of Confederation that preceded the federal state, as you know, the central government could not raise taxes or could not raise an army except by the intermediation of the state.

An alliance, being No. 1 in my order but No. 3 in the way I am giving them here, is any sort of an arrangement that nations may set up. Ordinarily, it is for limited purposes and, ordinarily, for a limited time.

Mr. McKeon: Can you get out of an alliance?

Mr. Merriam: An alliance can ordinarily be made by a treaty, and one can terminate or denounce the treaty, ending the obligations of that particular nation. Of course, there are obligations arising from good faith which might make the termination of an alliance difficult. But, in general, that is a treaty relation, subject to termination.

Mr. McKeon: I like this arrangement of three different kinds of agreement that nations can enter into, since, I take it, in terms of it our problem today lies somewhere between an alliance and a federation. All our problems of sovereignty and all the problems of the interrelations of nations would be in that general region. Is that true?

Mr. Merriam: Yes, I would agree with you that they have to be a little more than a mere alliance of the ordinary type. That would not go as far as a federation or federal state in the technical sense in which that term is employed.

Mr. McKeon: The discussion of sovereignty in those terms would seem to me to have a very great significance in this sense. When the word "sovereignty" is used today, it is used in the dis-

cussion of a post-war international order. Sovereignty indicates a limitation, or a fear, that the person who uses the word has in going into that order.

MR. MERRIAM: You mean a jural order of the world.

MR. MCKEON: I think maybe I do, but perhaps you should tell me what you mean by "jural" before I say "Yes."

MR. MERRIAM: There are two kinds of world: the world of anarchy and the world of law, the world governed primarily by force and the world governed by reason. A nation that will not consent to being a part of a world order of the one as set up of course declares itself out of the world order. It cannot claim a right without admitting a rule of law, that is, an obligation on the other man. Neither individuals nor nations can complain if the treatment of outlaws is visited upon them if they will not join what might be called a reasonable operating arrangement. Nations do not lose by action in concert with other nations. On the contrary, they are the gainers.

MR. MCKEON: I like that statement, since it brings into account those two words. They are words which we also ran into in our history—law, the basic order—and also power.

I would like to put it this way: It seems to me that in the discussion of international relations today, and in the discussion of sovereignty, there are three issues that seem to be involved.

MR. MERRIAM: How do you rate those?

MR. MCKEON: The first is the issue that is connected with the expression "the century of the common man." We are coming to a recognition of the importance of the individual and the individual beyond any national boundary. It is, to my mind, a continuation

of that eighteenth-century discussion in which sovereignty was found in the people.

MR. MERRIAM: We have recognized the common man a long time, haven't we?

MR. MCKEON: We have recognized him, but we have recognized him in a way in which the jural aspect has not always corresponded with the actual life of the common man.

MR. MERRIAM: Are you referring now to internal relations or to international relations?

MR. MCKEON: I am referring, first, to internal relations, but, secondly, to the international relations, since one of the issues in the sovereignty of the individual is exactly the question whether we Americans, with a high standard of living, will lose something if we enter into relationships with countries with a low standard of living.

But there is a second aspect at the other extreme—namely, the question of what the international organization is. That is the other aspect of the question of sovereignty; and somewhere in between, I think, is the practical question—namely, how can we come to an agreement?

I do not think, for example, that we need an organization in the sense of a legislative body. We had a judicial body that brought people together, and Locke, in the seventeenth century, said that the nations could come out of the order of nature and enter into an association if we had a judiciary with enough power to carry out its decisions.

MR. MERRIAM: Well, we had, at one time, the Hague Tribunal, which was a type of international jural order on a limited scale. The United States entered into that a good many years ago.[7]

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[7] The Hague Tribunal is a standing court of arbitration which was created by the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899 and was organized "to ensure the

MR. MCKEON: We have entered into other international agreements. We have entered into the agreement that makes it possible to mail a letter. The international postal agreement is of the same variety.

MR. MERRIAM: The most notable of all is probably the Kellogg Pact, which originated in the United States. By the terms of the Kellogg Pact, we agreed to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy, and so did all the other nations of the world. The trouble was there was not enough punch back of it.[8]

MR. MCKEON: But this would mean that, in our discussions and in our acts of the last fifty years or so, we have been moving into practical agreements with other nations. There is a further step that I think we are taking. At least, the Gallup Poll would seem to indicate that a majority of the American people, and also a majority

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pacific settlement of international differences." According to the plan, each state which was a member nominated four jurists for a six-year period. These jurists constituted a panel, from which judges might be selected to sit in arbitration. The Second Hague Conference of 1907 made some changes in the organization of the court and provided an alternative procedure called "arbitration by summary procedure." The Permanent Court of Arbitration continued to have a separate existence from the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was also located at the Hague but which was set up by the League of Nations after the first World War.

[8] The Briand-Kellogg Pact, known as the Pact of Paris, was signed by fifteen nations on August 27, 1928. Other nations later adhered, making a total of sixty-three signers. The agreement reads:

"Article I. The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"Article II. The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

of the British people, would favor a world police force. That would be in the same direction, wouldn't it?[9]

MR. MERRIAM: It depends upon what you mean by an international police force. I think that there is a common sentiment throughout the bulk of the world that we ought to organize in such fashion as to prevent aggressive war and to make a repetition of World War I and World War II impossible. But I think that there is not a definite agreement upon the precise ways and means by which that end, which we agree upon in principle, can be carried out.

MR. MCKEON: There are the two points, however—the end and the means to the end. It is in that region that I would locate the importance of this strange word "sovereignty."

MR. MERRIAM: What I wanted to say is that sovereignty need not be a stumbling block to a working arrangement which would prevent another series of wars. There is nothing in the concept or the fact of sovereignty that would stand in the way of an adequate and effective jural order of the world. Sovereign nations can cooperate in the framework of a legal order of the world, and, indeed, only in such framework can they be secure. Sovereign nations do not lose by association with other nations; they are the gainers. Their sovereignty is in reality expanded and made more practically effective. They are not losing sovereignty; they are securing what they have and, from the world point of view, gaining.

You may ask, "How can they all gain?" All gain by terms of a

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[9] An American Institute of Public Opinion survey, released on June 5, 1943, showed that in the United States 74 per cent of the people favored the United States' helping set up an international police force after the war to try to keep the peace throughout the world; 14 per cent opposed; and 12 per cent were undecided. In Britain, 74 per cent favored such a step for Britain; 10 per cent were opposed; and 16 per cent were undecided.

fair contract or a fair deal or a fair agreement or a fair association among men or among nations. The United Nations are not losing their sovereignty by acting together now, whether it is in the Pacific, the Atlantic, or the Mediterranean, on land, or sea, or in the air. They will not lose their sovereignty if they continue in reasonable paths of soundly worked out cooperation after the war.

MR. MCKEON: That is a very important point. It means, in effect, that we do not conserve our sovereignty or power by getting out and holding it apart. We make it into an active power by finding out where our responsibilities are and acting in terms of those responsibilities, recognizing the appropriate place that we have to occupy in the world.

MR. MERRIAM: We use our sovereignty.

MR. MCKEON: Let me put that in another way: There are two elements in the discussion. It is very complex discussion. There is the end, as you put it so well, that we are pursuing—an end in which we must cooperate toward world peace. There is then the question of means to achieve that world peace, and that question of means is where the world sovereignty comes in. Would you agree with that?

MR. MERRIAM: Yes. I would agree with that entirely.

MR. MCKEON: This two-man ROUND TABLE can be summed up, I think, under a few heads. To begin with, we have been considering the word "sovereignty" as a phenomenon in itself. Why are we talking about sovereignty? What is the significance of its occurrence? We agree that the occurrence of the word is an indication that we will have a great deal of talk about sovereignty which might lead us into confusion or might even lead to obstruction.

MR. MERRIAM: Or might be helpful.

MR. MCKEON: We, in the next place, agree that there are two elements involved. We are stating an international ideal that we are trying to achieve. World sovereignty is an expression of the places at which fears occur—such as fears about the movement of people, fears about trade agreement, fears about currency regulation. These must be worked out in detail in order to achieve the end.

But we have also recognized that there is a need of commitment. We cannot have an organization or a partnership without rules and without commitments in advance to abide by rules and by a majority opinion.

Sovereignty is a concept which is built up in a moral, legal organization, with customs and reason and ideals to control. If we can set up a world organization in which that kind of moral leadership, that kind of mutual confidence, is in control, then the question of sovereignty is a question simply of working arrangements among people to a common end.

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More on This Topic

CHURCHILL, WINSTON, "Alliance with U.S. after War," *Vital Speeches*, September 15, 1943.

FRIEDRICH, CARL J., *The New Belief in the Common Man.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1942. *Reviews the problem of sovereignty as it affects the freedom of man.*

HATCH, CARL A., "Time for America To Speak," *Free World*, October, 1943. *Argues for American participation in a world order.*

HULL, CORDELL, "Our Foreign Policy in the Framework of Our National Interests," *Vital Speeches*, October 1, 1943. *States the record and aims of American diplomacy.*

JESSUP, JOHN K., "America and the Future," *Life*, September 20, 1943. *Argues for a foreign policy that will express the nation's interest.*

JESSUP, PHILIP C., "The Reality of International Law," *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1940. *The function of international law in the relations of sovereign states.*

LASKI, HAROLD J., *A Grammar of Politics.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. *Presents the pluralist doctrine of sovereignty.*

MACIVER, ROBERT M., "After the Price of War, the Price of Peace," *Vital Speeches*, October 1, 1942. *Says that sovereignty is what we make it.*

"The United Nations and the Future," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1943. *Seventeen articles on the relations of the United States and the United Nations by prominent authorities.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. Why do you think the word "sovereignty" has become prominent in American discussions of the problem of participation in arrangements with other nations to insure peace? What are the fears of those who desire to protect the sovereignty of the United States?

2. What has been the history of the term "sovereignty"? What have been some of the important shifts in the use of the word as it has gathered new meanings?

3. Is sovereignty merely a matter of verbalism, or is it a term that actually is useful and represents interests and values? What are they?

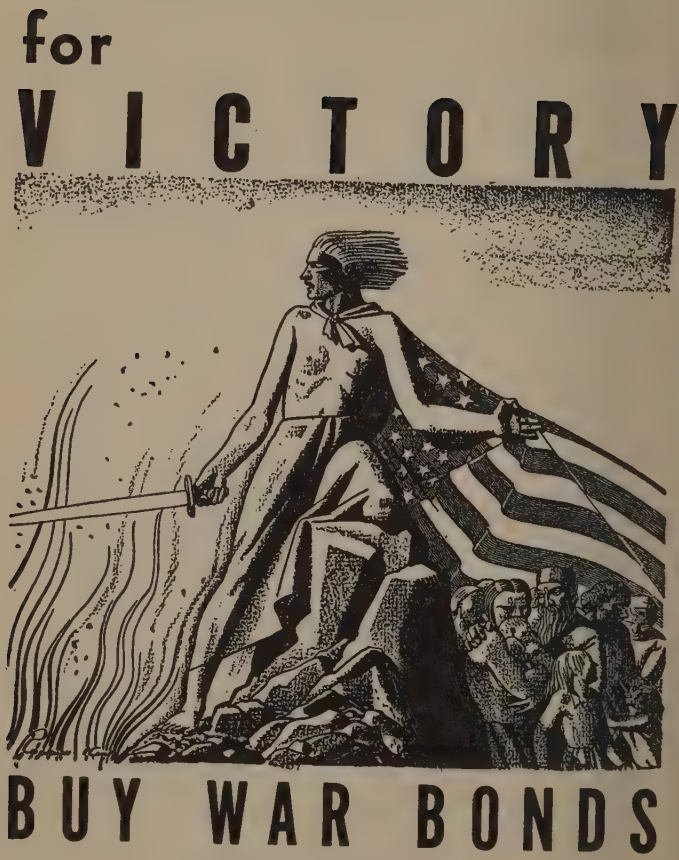
4. Would you say that sovereignty is what *ought* to be or what actually *is?*

5. Is sovereignty absolute, irresistible, and indivisible, or, if not, what are its limits? Is any nation completely sovereign and independent?

6. Where is sovereignty located in the United States?

7. Can sovereign states agree to repress aggression by force without losing their own freedom and sovereignty?

8. In what sense is it true that free and sovereign states may increase their freedom and strengthen their sovereignty by treaties or other agreements?



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The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "War Medicine," broadcast October 10, 1943.*

*

Especially Interesting

I listened to the program today and thought that it was very instructive. As I am taking a course in volunteer Nurse's Aid for the Red Cross, I found the material discussed especially interesting for me.—*A listener from Springfield, Massachusetts.*

*

Well Discussed

I am a first-year medical student at the University of North Carolina. At the present time, I am studying physiology, and many of the topics which were so well discussed on your ROUND TABLE have been studied in some detail in this course.—*A listener from Chapel Hill, North Carolina.*

*

Why Allow Grade B Medical Schools?

I listened to your program with much interest, and I would like to ask this question: What will happen to the men in the Grade B medical schools after they graduate? Where can they practice when they are not recognized? You stated, on your program, how scarce doctors really are. Why should we allow any Grade B schools to exist in the United States?—*A listener from New York, New York.*

*

What about Fatigue?

Many thanks for your splendid broadcast. However, I did not think that you gave sufficient emphasis and help to the prevailing civilian fatigue. Why should not workers, women especially, have more consideration in their work in the wartime industries? They seem to see nothing beyond the point of drawing their compensation. How long will hundreds of overworked civilians be able to hold out in the vital farm, food, and production jobs?—*A listener from Santa Paula, California.*

*

Happy To Know of Good Care

Your program on "War Medicine" was very interesting. I think that it will make the people of the United States much happier to know that their boys are so well protected by our medical men and women and by general medicine.—*A listener from Kinsman, Ohio.*

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1:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810

BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930

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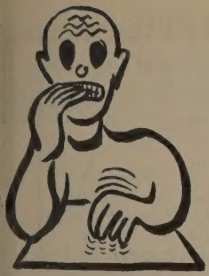

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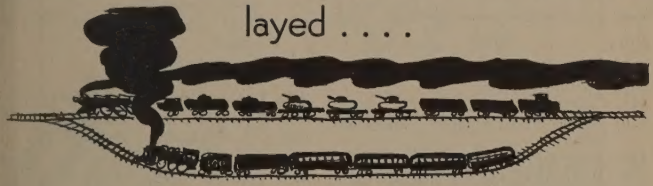

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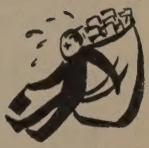

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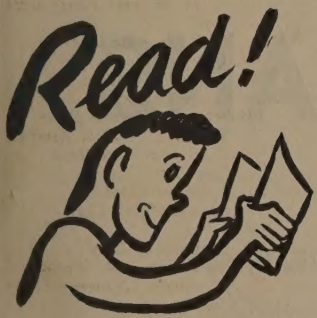

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OCTOBER 24, 1943

THE BALKANS

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BING, EDWARD J., "The 'Differed' Balkan War," *American Mercury*, October, 1942.

KAUFMANN, FRITZ, "Central Europe after the War," *Free World*, October, 1943.

PRIBICHEVICH, STOYAN, "Allied Strategy in Yugoslavia," *Fortune*, September, 1943.

XYDIS, S. G., "Bulgaria—Axis Satellite," *Current History*, October, 1943.

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